is today; instead, women gathered its fruit in the bush. Once upon a time, there was a man who had no sister he could sell to obtain a wife for himself, nor did he have any other person who could help him to get married. He hit upon the idea of starting a huge ngon farm, and when the ngon was ripe many people came and bought the kernels. In this way he finally earned so much money that he had the purchase price for a girl. When other people, who likewise had no wives, heard about this, they began to imitate him and also married through the aid of the plant. Hence, it is said: "Oh, I see this plant like a girl (ngṓn), and therefore it shall be called ngō̄n also, for if the man had had no ngon (ngŏ̄n), he would not have been able to marry a girl (ngō̄ˊn)." It should be noted that the two words differ in pitch; the word for the plant has falling pitch in Fang (ngô̄n), rising pitch in Jaunde (ngŏ̄n), whereas the word for girl has only high pitch (ngō̄ˊn). A narrative in the creation story is very similar.

Ngon is planted only once a year since its cultivation requires the period from April to December. In April, frequently long before, the bush is cut and burned. The ground, however, is not cleared, and everything is left lying just as it fell; at most the largest brushwood is removed from the connecting paths. Walking through a farm, especially along the plantation paths, is therefore quite a gymnastic feat. A ngon farm is often cleared communally by the inhabitants of two neighboring villages who belong to the same kin group. To the uninitiated, however, the boundaries are not discernible. They are indicated by trees that have been left standing or have fallen over and more rarely by lianas tied to the branches of tree trunks lying on the ground. It is astonishing that no boundary disputes arise.

In April, once the farm area has been burned over, the women go into the fields, and with their universal tool, the hoe, they plant the ngon seeds in the ground. The seeds must first have been soaked in water for a day, and two or three of them are planted in the same hole. Because of the tree trunks and the brush lying about, planting is hard work, and for this reason the men usually assist at the task, at least on the first day, equipped with /95/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ hoes and digging

582 The first principle regulating kinship is that of double exogamy, in the paternal line, but also in the maternal line. Marriage is not allowed within one's own clan, nor within the clan of one's mother. Incest within the maternal clan is scarcely less serious than incest within the paternal clan, but the interdiction in this line is not definitive and hereditary. At the present time the prohibition seems to die out after two generations: a great-grandson may take a wife from the clans of his maternal great-grandmothers, and even a grandson from that of his maternal grandmother. It is another matter in the paternal line, whose genealogy children learn by heart. However on account of the present state of forgetfulness, I do not know the exact rules.

601 A second characteristic of kinship is that it is classificatory and that the nomenclature is modified as to person, sometimes as to gender, in accordance with the subject of the relationship. Thus "father" or "mother," for instance, are called:

1st person	2nd person	3rd person
tate	éso	ésa
nane	nyua	nyia

according to whether there is involved a relative of the speaker, of the person spoken to, or of the person spoken about.

For "brother" and "sister" the terms furthermore vary according to the sex of the subject of the relationship:

monyañ (a contraction of moneyañ (1) = mother's son) = brother

1. Third person: — nyañ, from nyia, "mother;" 1st person, mojañ: — jañ, the same word as jañ = jal, "mother's native hamlet."

of a man or sister of a woman of the clan; while

the sister of a man = kal,

the brother of a woman = ndôm.

A man's son is ndôman, his daughter is ngon; a woman's /son and daughter/ are simply bon (sing. mon), "the little ones."

601 The generic /terms/ of kinship are formed from these words, for
602 instance:

601 602 ndômenyañ (3rd person) = mother's brother, designating the maternal uncle and all his bobenyañ (clan or consanguineal brothers); this is a respect relationship;

motate, a contraction of mone tate = son of my father, designating half brothers on the father's side, with an idea of respect;

monekal = sister's son, designating nephews and uterine cousins with whom marriage is forbidden, although they belong to a different ayoñ; this is a joking relationship; the same term is applied to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;

840 monengon = daughter's son, designating uterine relatives within the clan and particularly sisters' illegitimate children, who are members of the clan but with a certain capitis diminutio, loss of status;

and so forth, relationship always being reckoned by clan, generation, and sex. This is borne out by the way ethnic constructions are formed: a Boulou, a /51/ Yenjôk, are mone bulu, mone yenjôk, a "child of Boulou," a "child of Yenjôk"; a Boulou woman is ngone bulu, a "daughter of Boulou"; two bo'be yenjôk would therefore be brothers, bobenyañ. What is curious is that this term, the most frequently employed for full brother or half brother on the father's side, clearly refers to a uterine relationship, since it means, literally, "mother's son."

Kinship in relation to order of generations (ndaé = grandchild; éndil = great-grandchild) entered into the choice of a name (éyôlé), /a practice that is/ not well understood at present. Even at the present, similarity of biyôlé creates a sort of quasi relationship between the homonyms mimbôm (sing. mbôm) or bemôé (sing. môé), with the obligation of reciprocal help.

Parents-in-law are betyi (possibly related to étyi = prohibition?); we shall mention this again in connection with marriage, but it may be pointed out here that the term is applied equally to the first wife considered with respect to her co-wives.

e. Marriage, Descent

582 The primary rule of marriage remains the prohibition against incest, the clan exogamy already mentioned. To take a wife from one's own or one's mother's clan is forbidden, also to marry the daughters of lineage sisters to quite a distant degree, even though